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ANTI-SLAVERY LANDMARKS IN BOSTON

Scores of Places Identified with the Great Struggle for the Freedom of the Black Men Are Passed Daily Without a Thought of the Stirring Scenes That Were Witnessed There—Where Garrison Published the Liberator—Refuges for Fugitives—Some Famous Cases of Kidnapping—Birthplaces of Popular War Songs.

(From the Boston Transcript, Wednesday, Sept. 1, 1897.)

A line series of lectures in the Old South on the anti-slavery struggle has brought the subject anew before Bostonians, and it seems well worth the while to make an imaginary pilgrimage to the places in Boston made sacred to all lovers of human freedom by events of that struggle. Already many landmarks have disappeared. It is well for the present generation to make haste and mark their locations for the guidance of those who are to follow, and who, perchance, may thus be helped to remember, as we should never forget, that "one man that thinks for himself is the salt of a generation poisoned with printer's ink and cotton dust."

An anti-slavery pilgrimage in Boston might properly begin with the grave of John Elliot, the apostle to the Indians, in the ancient burial place on the corner of Washington and Rust streets. In 1675, John Elliot "presented to the Colonial Legislature of Massachusetts a memorial against the slavery of Indians and others."

On the corner of Tremont street, Nos. 1 and 3, and Pemberton square, about where William H. Brine's store now stands, lived Chief Justice Samuel Sewall, who, in 1700, published "The Selling of Joseph," a protest against slavery, and supposed to be the first publication on that subject issued in America. A lineal descendant of his, bearing his name, appears one hundred and fifty years later to renew the protest, along with Garrison and Phillips in 1851, at the rendition of Thomas Sims, Samuel E. Sewall.

Come now to the old Granary Burying Ground on Tremont street, by Park Street Church, and see the tomb of John Hancock, first signer of the Declaration of Independence, first governor of the State of Massachusetts under the constitution, and, according to Robert T. Teamoh, the first recorded public negro liberator in the colony. In 1788 three men were kidnapped in Boston by a man named Avery and carried off to Martinico. As governor of Massachusetts, John Hancock wrote to all the governors of the West India Islands in favor of the poor creatures, and, as a result, they were soon returned. His home used to stand on Beacon street a few doors below the State House, Nos. 29 and 30. Many relics of his person, as well as a picture of his Beacon

Hill home, are to be found in the old State House. A good portrait may be seen in the vestibule of the John Hancock Building on Federal street, near Milk street.

The old Hancock Tavern, named after John Hancock when he was elected governor, and which he used to frequent, is in Corn court, off Faneuil Hall square, and still in service as a temperance restaurant and hotel.

At 15 Milk street, W. C. Brooks & Co., tailors, opposite the Old South Meeting House, is a building which claims to cover the site of Benjamin Franklin's birthplace, and bears his bust in a niche on the front.

"The first abolition society in this country was formed in Pennsylvania," and the typical Bostonian, Benjamin Franklin, became its president in 1787. The grave of Franklin's father and mother is in the centre of the old Granary Burying Ground, marked by a tall pyramidal granite monument. They lived at one time about where the middle of Union street, east side, of Hanover street, now is. The place where Franklin, as a boy, practised the printer's trade in his brother James's office was on the northeast corner of Court street (No. 29) and Franklin avenue, opposite Young's Hotel. The very press on which he worked is still to be seen in the attic of the Old State House. Richard S. Greenough's statue of Franklin is in the City Hall yard, School street, near the site of the first school in Boston, of which he and John Hancock were pupils. Franklin Park and Franklin street are named after him.

WHERE GARRISON AND WHITTIER LIVED.

Standing in front of the Hancock Building, 35 Federal street, you have before you, at No. 30 Federal street, approximately, the site of "Parson Collier's boarding-house." Rev. William Collier, a Baptist city missionary, was the founder of the National Philanthropist, the first paper in the world established expressly to advocate abstinence from intoxicating liquors. The day should come when for this alone Federal street shall receive the world's grateful attention. Parson Collier installed in the editorial chair of the National Philanthropist a certain young man named William Lloyd Garrison. This young man, in turn, remembering a

younger friend of his, named John Greenleaf Whittier, later to be somewhat known as a poet, secured for him a position in the city as editor of the American Manufacturer. The two boarded and roomed together in 1820 at Collier's house. In 1828 Benjamin Lundy, the anti-slavery reformer, came from the South to Collier's house, found Garrison there, and soon turned him into as vigorous an opponent of slavery as he himself was.

The next year, July 4, 1829, Mr. Garrison delivered his first anti-slavery address, in Park Street Church, on the same ground over which the sails of the frigate Constitution, "Old Ironsides," were made, and on which, later, July 4, 1832, for the first time was sung, in Park Street Church, under the direction of Lowell Mason, by a choir of Sunday school children,

"My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of Liberty"—

thus imparting to that historic site a threefold interest for Liberty's pilgrim.

On the northeast corner of Milk street and Congress street, at the head of Federal street, now occupied by a corner of the post office extension and the broad sidewalk, stood in those days Julien Hall. Here, in 1830, on invitation of the "infidel preacher," Abner Kneeland, William Lloyd Garrison gave his first course of three lectures against slavery, and secured thereby the immediate and future help of Rev. Samuel J. May, A. Bronson Alcott, the philosopher, and Samuel E. Sewall, a descendant of Chief Justice Sewall.

Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher was also present, but not to approve. Here, also, George Thompson once lectured against slavery and narrowly escaped seizure by a mob whose plot was discovered by Samuel J. May, and rendered unavailing by the anti-slavery ladies.

The Howe Building, standing on the northeast corner of Water street and Congress. (No. 60), covers the site of Merchants' Hall. In one of the upper rooms of this old Merchants' Hall Building, destroyed by the great fire of 1872, the first number of "The Liberator" was printed. Here was the place of which James Russell Lowell wrote:

ganized. In this meeting-house Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, Henry Wilson and Anson Burlingame have lifted their voices against the iniquity of slavery. To this place, when driven from Tremont Temple by a pro-slavery mob, bent on blood, Wendell Phillips once repaired and delivered his speech. Frederick Douglass, in a letter to Mary Livermore, describes how Maria Weston Chapman, leaning on Wendell Phillips's arm for his protection, threaded her way with him through a frantic mob, looking "as serene as a rainbow over a thundering cataract."

To Mr. Douglass's intense relief they reached safely the little pulpit in this same Baptist church, where John Brown, Jr., son of that John whose soul still marches on, stood with two loaded pistols in his hands ready for defence. At the close of the meeting Wendell Phillips and his friends silently passed out by a rear passage, and thus escaped the violence of the howling mob which was awaiting them in Smith court.

Oct. 21, 1835, the annual meeting of the "Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society" had been advertised to take place that afternoon at their hall, in a building, the site of which is now occupied by Wilkinson's hardware store on the eastern side of Washington street, No. 186, between Adams square and State street. George Thompson, the English abolitionist, was to address it. In opposition, Mr. James L. Homer, editor of the Commercial Advertiser, wrote out in his office, at the request of two "respectable" merchants of Boston, the notorious handbill which bore its fruit in the "Broadcloth Mob," a few hours later. From two to five thousand people gathered in reply to this outrageous call in the vicinity of the Liberator's office, a mob likened by Archibald Grimké to a "huge, irregular cross," with its head darkening at the Liberator office and its foot resting at the Joy Building (now Rogers Building), while one arm embraced the Old State House, and the other stretched along Court street to the Old Court House. On this living cross it was proposed to crucify that day freedom of speech in Boston. The object of attack was George Thompson, but he was not to be found.

The mob accordingly demanded Mr. Gar-

which James Russell Lowell wrote:

"In a small chamber, friendless and unseen,
Toiled o'er his types one poor, unlearned
young man;

The place was dark, unfurnished and mean,
Yet there the freedom of a race began."

Here was the small, dark chamber, says Archibald Grimké, in which Garrison, brave as Luther, wrote these immortal words for the first "Liberator."

"I am in earnest; I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retreat a single inch; and I will be heard."

A MEMORABLE PROPHECY.

Now if we cross the city to Joy street, and turn in to Smith's court, we may find one of the most interesting and notable relics of the struggle for human liberty that the world contains. It is the very church in which was organized by the famous "twelve apostles" on the evening of Jan. 6, 1832, the "New England Anti-Slavery Society." Just as these nineteenth-century apostles were about to separate at midnight, their young leader, William Lloyd Garrison, uttered this prophecy:

"We have met tonight in this obscure schoolhouse; our numbers are few and our influence limited; but mark my prediction; Faneuil Hall shall ere long echo with the principles we have set forth. We shall shake the nation by their mighty power."

The lower part of this church, A. Grimké tells us, was used at that time as a school-room for colored children, Boston not then tolerating mixed schools. The upper part was used as a church. It was in the school-room that the Anti-Slavery Society was or-

The mob accordingly demanded Mr. Garrison. Discovering him in a carpenter's shop, in the rear of the building, they were about to throw him bodily out of the window to the ground. Someone objected, so a rope was tied around his body, and he was made to descend by a ladder into Willson's lane, now that part of Devonshire street between Adams square and State street. There he was seized and dragged into State street, in the rear of the old State House.

Already his clothes were torn from his back, and the hat from his head. Mayor Lyman, with some officers, rescued him, taking him through the south door of the Old State House up-stairs, where he was disguised in a fresh suit of clothes. Then the mayor passed him out of the north door into a hack, where a fearful struggle ensued with the maddened multitude. The horses were forced through Court street to Bowdoin square, and thence hurriedly driven through Cambridge street into Blossom street, and from there to Leverett Street Jail, which was situated on the north side of Leverett street, near the corner of Causeway street. This old jail was taken down in 1852. Here it was that George W. Latimer, the first fugitive slave hunted in Massachusetts, was confined for weeks in the fall of 1842, but finally freed on payment by the abolitionists of \$400 to his master. It was at this time that Whittier wrote "Massachusetts to Virginia." (See a good account of the Latimer affair in the Boston Globe, June 2, 1896.) Just around the corner from the jail, at 23 Brighton street (as things were then, but changed now), Mr. Garrison and his young wife lived at the time,

and five weeks before, a strongly built gal-lows, having two nooses dangling from it, one for Thompson and one for Garrison, was erected before their door.

FREE SPEECH WAS SAVED THERE.

Let us now return to that notable meeting of ladies in the hall by the Liberator office, who had been notified that afternoon by Mayor Lyman that it was dangerous for them to remain. The words of Maria Weston Chapman in reply are worth listening to: "If this is the last bulwark of freedom, we may as well die here as anywhere." However, they finally adjourned to No. 71 Hollis street, a brick house still standing, three doors from the corner of Tremont street, facing towards Washington street, the home of Francis Jackson, being assailed during their perilous march through the mob with epithets too vile for utterance, and their very lives at times being endangered. Owing to the illness of Mrs. Jackson, they adjourned to the home of Mrs. Chapman, No. 11 West street. A month later, in the parlors of Mr. Francis Jackson, as a partial result of that mob, Harriet Martineau avowed her full agreement with the principles of the society.

Twenty years afterward Wendell Phillips, who with J. G. Whittier also witnessed the mob, declared the fact "That free speech was saved in Boston, in 1835, was owing to fifty or sixty women, and mainly to one man, Francis Jackson, who gave to the women, driven from their hall, the use of his house." In his speech on "The Philosophy of the Abolition Movement," Mr. Phillips said

"Our youthful city can boast of but few places of historic renown, but I know of no one which coming time is more likely to keep in memory than the roof which Francis Jackson offered to the anti-slavery women of Boston, when Mayor Lyman confessed he was unable to protect their meeting, and when the only protection the law could afford William Lloyd Garrison was the shelter of the common jail."

In the Old State House on State street

where now is Talbot's dining-room, as near as Hon. E. G. Walker has been able to ascertain, was the shop of his father, David Walker, an African who published in 1829, fifteen months before the birth of The Liberator, a pamphlet against slavery, known as "Walker's Appeal," which went into three editions. Copies found their way South, and produced such a sensation that parties in South Carolina offered a reward of thousands of dollars for the author's head, and the governors of Georgia and Virginia officially brought the matter to the attention of their respective Legislatures.

David Walker was born in North Carolina. His father was a slave, but his mother was free, which made the boy free. He lived in his native State until he was of age; then he travelled, observing closely, in various States, the condition of his people. He came to Boston and published the Appeal as the result of his observations. This information was obtained from his son, Hon. E. G. Walker, the well-known colored lawyer, No. 27 Pemberton square. Hon. E. G. Walker, who was one of the "Burns rioters," and Charles L. Mitchell, of the Boston Custom House, who used to work for Mr. Chandler, the printer of The Liberator, were elected together in 1860 as members of the Massachusetts Legislature, and were, possibly, the first of their race to hold such a position, in the country's history.

CASES OF KIDNAPPING.

Hard by, on Brattle street, was the clothes-cleaning shop of Coffin Pitts, the employer of Anthony Burns, when Burns was kidnapped in 1854 on Court street, near the head of Brattle street.

With the Old Court House on Court street are associated some of the most exciting episodes of the anti-slavery conflict. In 1836 Charles P. Curtis and Benjamin R. Curtis appeared as counsel for the slave-hunters in the famous case of the girl, Med, originally a slave in the West Indies, and brought to Boston by her mistresses. "Med claimed her freedom on the

tion the law could afford. William Lloyd Garrison was the shelter of the common jail."

In the Old State House on State street, we find a copy of the small poster which caused the riot of 1835. The proprietor of The Liberator office became alarmed and served notice after the "Broadcloth Mob," for the publishers to remove the paper. The next office for the paper was at No. 25 Cornhill, up-stairs, the Anti-Slavery Society occupying the ground floor. Next door to it, No. 23 Cornhill, was Mr. Jewett's place, the first office of publication of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" as a book. Later they removed to No. 21 Cornhill, the society occupying rooms in the second story, and The Liberator the fourth story until the year before the civil war, when a final removal was made to the Washington Building, still standing on Washington street, No. 383, opposite Franklin, in the third story, right, front, as one looks up from Franklin street. Here they remained from 1860 to 1865, when The Liberator ceased to exist, its work being accomplished. Franklin street was then the wholesale dry goods district and frequented by wealthy Southerners, making purchases. As they looked up at the Liberator office they could not help seeing plainly the Anti-Slavery Society's sign, and the unregenerate of them would thereby be led to make decidedly "unsanctified" remarks. The press work for The Liberator for a score of years was done at No. 37 Cornhill, where now are Messrs. Frost & Adams, the well-known dealers in artists' materials. Mr. William Henderson Chandler, who superintended the presswork of The Liberator for twenty years, at No. 37 Cornhill, is still living and at work at his craft, book and job printing, 21 Cornhill. At No. 14 Brattle street, underneath what used to be the old Lynn & Boston horse-car station, but

girl, Med, originally a slave in the West Indies, and brought to Boston by her mistress. "Med claimed her freedom on the ground that slavery was not recognized by the laws of Massachusetts." The Curtises "held that . . . slaves were property by the law of nations, and that an ownership which is legal in the West Indies continued in Boston, at least so far as the right to seize and carry away, but the Supreme Court of Massachusetts held otherwise."

In 1842 George W. Latimer was kidnapped.

The next case of interest was that of William and Ellen Crafts, who were slaves in Macon, Ga. Ellen, who was practically white, disguising herself as a young Southern planter, successfully got her husband North with her as her body servant, and came to Boston, where they joined Theodore Parker's society. Unfortunately, after their arrival, the fugitive slave law passed, indorsed by Daniel Webster and greeted by the merchants of Boston with approving salute from one hundred guns. Immediately the liberties of the refugees were in danger. Theodore Parker received the wife into his own house at the risk of a thousand dollars' fine. It was decided not to have the husband run from the city, but to "fight it out." Accordingly he was well armed, Mr. Parker himself inspecting the weapons, and sufficiently "large" stories were judiciously passed about the town of the negro's muscular ability and general "dangerous" character, especially intended for the benefit of kidnappers. Meanwhile the "vigilance committee" kept watch on a slave-catcher named Hughes, of infamous reputation, who had come on from Macon, Ga., and stopped with his assistant at the United States Hotel, waiting his opportunity.

Although Crafts appeared boldly upon the street, yet, at one time, the chase

waxed so hot that he sought refuge in Lewis Hayden's house, No. 66 Phillips street. Mr. Hayden was a respectable and determined colored man, himself a refugee. Placing two kegs of gunpowder under the steps of his front door, it was well understood that if the slave-catchers came over the threshold Mr. Hayden stood with matches ready to blow up the whole house. The abolitionists by "discreet" management soon made it so hot for the slave-hunters that they left town without their prey. The Crafts family went to England, where they attracted much attention at the great exposition at Crystal Palace.

Feb. 15, 1851, a refugee named Shadrach was arrested in Taft's Cornhill Coffee House by deputies of the United States Marshal Devens, on a warrant issued by George T. Curtis, United States marshal, on the complaint of George T. Caphart, attorney of John DeBree of Norfolk, Va. After a brief hearing in the court house before G. T. Curtis, commissioner, the case was adjourned to the following Tuesday. In Colonel T. W. Higginson's "Cheerful Yesterdays" in the Atlantic Monthly for March, 1897, an amusing account is given of how a party of negroes, passing up unconcernedly through the court-room, received Shadrach as he stood there into their midst. (Another account names Lewis Hayden as their leader.) When they reached the large door with a lantern on each side, opposite the extension to Young's Hotel, on the eastern side of the court house, the same door out of which Sims and Burns were taken later, the negroes scattered, and no one could tell "Shadrach" from "Abednego." His course has been followed by carriage to Cambridge, thence to Concord, and a little farther. Beyond that, as was mysteriously said by Theodore Parker, "the Lord took him." Certainly the kidnappers did not take him, as he was heard of later in Montreal, Canada. The acting President, Millard Fillmore, issued his proclamation, countersigned by Daniel Webster, secretary of state, requiring prosecutions to be set in motion against all who participated in the rescue, and a series of annoying

of a suffering slave, who had been torn from freedom in sight of Bunker Hill, and was on that very day placed in the Savannah jail, to be beaten with a certain number of blows every day on his naked back, whether sick or well. This was one of the sacrifices of manhood that "aristocratic" Boston made to "save the Union." It is a comfort to know that at last Sims escaped again and returned to Boston.

HOW BURNS WAS SENT BACK TO HIS MASTER.

Anthony Burns was a regularly licensed Baptist minister, and is said to have belonged to the same church with his master, Colonel Charles T. Suttle of Alexandria, Va. He ran away. Arriving in Boston, he wrote a letter to his brother in Alexandria, also a slave of Mr. Suttle, stating that he was at work with Coffin Pitts in Brattle street, cleaning old clothes. According to the custom of the South, when letters were received, directed to slaves, it appears to have been delivered to the master, Colonel Suttle, to open, who thereby obtained a clue to his missing slave. The colonel came to Boston with a witness named William Brent. Burns was arrested on Court street, near the head of Brattle street, on a warrant granted by United States Commissioner Edward Greeley Loring, who was also a lecturer on law in Harvard University. On arrest he was falsely accused of theft. He was placed in an upper-story room of the Court House, under a strong guard. The hearing began the next morning before Mr. Loring, but was adjourned till Saturday, May 27. On Friday evening, May 26, 1854, the abolitionists, from a meeting in Faneuil Hall, made an attack on the Court House, led by T. W. Higginson. One of the marshal's guard named Batchelder was shot and killed. No one seemed to know positively how. This broke up the attack. Watson Freeman, the United States marshal, hired and armed a gang of blackguards to surround the prisoner in the courtroom. United States District Attorney Benjamin F. Hallett constantly aided the slave-

countersigned by Daniel Webster, secretary of state, requiring prosecutions to be set in motion against all who participated in the rescue, and a series of annoying "rescue" trials followed, but it was impossible to get a jury to pronounce anyone guilty. In later years, when R. H. Dana, counsel for the defence, asked one of the ex-jurymen for an explanation, "Possibly," suggested the jurymen, "some clew to the difficulty might be found in the fact that I was the man who drove Shadrach from Cambridge to Concord."

Thursday evening, about nine o'clock of April 3, 1851, a negro named Thomas Sims, who had escaped from Savannah, Ga., was arrested on Richmond street, near Ann, now known as North, street. After a desperate resistance, in which officer Butman was stabbed in the thigh by the negro, Sims was forced into a carriage and taken to the court house under the pretence that he was a thief. Every facility that the civil power could give was rendered to the kidnappers. In the early darkness of Saturday morning, April 12, 1851, under a guard of two hundred policemen, armed with United States cutlasses, Thomas Sims was taken out of the east door of the court house, the main, middle door, with lanterns and with steps going up (not one of the small doors on either side of it with steps leading down) from the sidewalk. The prisoner was marched down State street to Long wharf, and placed on board the brig Acorn, belonging to John H. Piereson & Co., and carried to his master. Some of the "respectable" citizens of Boston who had encouraged the kidnapping also went on the ship to Savannah. They were there publicly feasted by the citizens. It was the 19th of April, 1851, the anniversary of Concord and Lexington, on which these sons of liberty-loving sires from Boston, enjoyed their savory repast at the expense

and armed a gang of negroes to surround the prisoner in the courtroom. United States District Attorney Benjamin F. Hallett constantly aided the slave-catchers, and was in regular telegraphic communication to that end with Franklin Pierce, the President of the United States, at Washington. Oddly, it was this same Benjamin F. Hallett who, by his stenographic report, preserved to the world Wendell Phillips's first and most famous "Freedom Speech" in Faneuil Hall after the Lovejoy murder in 1837.

The master professed his willingness to sell Burns. The money was raised, but was then refused by the master at the advice of certain "estimable" Bostonians. Of course, the case was decided against the unfortunate prisoner, and he was taken out of the fatal east door of the Court House, opposite Young's Hotel, through which Sims had passed, to T wharf, surrounded not only by the police force of Boston, but by United States marines and Massachusetts Infantry. Every street, lane and other avenue leading to Court street and State street was guarded. Acts of violence were committed by the soldiers on several citizens, who were never able to obtain redress. Court square was menaced by loaded field guns. Anthony Burns was later sold by his master on condition that he should never be permitted to get North, but his Northern friends, hearing afterwards that he was in North Carolina, purchased him with money subscribed in Boston for the purpose, and he returned to Boston a free man.

A great rallying place for the anti-slavery men who were not Garrisonians—such men as Judge Thomas Russell, who married "Father Taylor's" daughter, Samuel E. Sewall and others—was 20 Bromfield street. Here nearly all the meetings of the "Kansas Committee" were held, the com-

mittee that aided John Brown and furnished him rifles. The Commonwealth "newspaper" was published here.

At No. 3 Winter street, in a stone building still standing, was the office of Dr. Thomas H. Webb, secretary of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. The Kansas emigration articles in the New York Tribune were mostly written by Rev. Edward Everett Hale, and carefully preserved here by Dr. Webb.

Aug. 17, 1855, a meeting was held in Chapman Hall on Chapman place, the little alley leading off School street, by the Parker House. As near as the writer has been able to learn, the hall or a building occupying its site was removed in order to give room for the middle portion of the Parker House on that side. At this meeting it was resolved that "the time has fully come for a united and earnest effort of the people of Massachusetts, in concert with the friends of freedom throughout the Union, whose object shall be to restrain the alarming encroachments of slavery." A memorable gathering! For out of it went a committee which, in the United States Hotel, drew up a call for the Worcester Convention, from which sprang the Republican party of Massachusetts.

TREMONT TEMPLE THE SCENE OF A MOB.

Tremont Temple, 82 Tremont street, was the scene of the last violent pro-slavery mob in Boston, Jan. 24, 1861, when the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was broken up by Mayor Wightman's orders, he being in sympathy with the mob. Among the speakers were Edmund Quincy, James Freeman Clarke, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Wendell Phillips and Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

In April, 1851, when Thomas Sims was arrested, there was a crowded meeting at Tremont Temple in protest, at which Horace Mann presided, and T. W. Higginson gave an address, at the tone of which a lawyer named Charles Mayo Ellis protested, and "threw cold water on the whole enterprise." The very existence of Tremont Temple is due to the fact that one Timothy Gilbert, a pew-holder in the Charles Street Baptist Church, "became so thoroughly convinced of the iniquity of slavery that he threw his whole heart into the cause of

Brown was to be hanged, a solemn meeting was held in Tremont Temple, presided over by Samuel E. Sewall. William Lloyd Garrison read John Brown's address to the court, which had sentenced him to die for "treason" in Virginia. Said Mr. Garrison, "John Brown in firing his gun has merely told us what time of day it is. It is high noon, thank God!"

George William Curtis's magnificent eulogy on Wendell Phillips was delivered in Tremont Temple. On the lower corner of Walnut and Beacon streets is Wendell Phillips's birthplace, the house of his father, Jonathan Phillips, the first mayor of Boston. For forty-one years Wendell Phillips lived at 26 (afterwards renumbered to the present 50) Essex street, the front door of which is owned by the Bostonian Society at the Old State House, being presented to them by Francis J. Garrison. Mr. Phillips's last residence was at 37 Common street, where he died and also his wife. His funeral service was held in Hollis Street Church, where now Hollis Street Theatre stands. His body was deposited temporarily in the Phillips lot, a few feet to the right of the entrance to the Granary Burying Ground. He was later interred with his wife in the old cemetery at Milton, Mass.

The second brownstone house on Hollis street, going from Tremont street towards Washington street, on the left and still standing, was the home of Samuel and Mary May, most valuable promoters of the cause of freedom. It was about opposite Hollis Street Church, where now Hollis Street Theatre is.

This was the church of Rev. John Pierpont, the poet-preacher, prominent at the same time as an anti-slavery agitator, as a woman's suffragist and an anti-tobacco and anti-liquor man. Adherence to any one of these good causes was enough to surround the upholder with a sultry atmosphere even in the coldest of weather in those days. The last time Hollis Street Church was opened to the public was for the funeral of Wendell Phillips.

SOME OF GARRISON'S HOMES.

named Charles Mayo Sims protested, and "threw cold water on the whole enterprise." The very existence of Tremont Temple is due to the fact that one Timothy Gilbert, a pew-holder in the Charles Street Baptist Church, "became so thoroughly convinced of the iniquity of slavery, that he threw his whole heart into the cause of emancipation. . . . That church had certain regulations which prevented members from introducing on the floor of the sanctuary persons of African descent. This grieved the righteous soul of the good deacon, and he determined to test its legality. Consequently a sable-bued brother was conducted by him one Sunday morning to one of the foremost seats, with a result of a serious collision with his white brethren, whose race prejudices were greater than his own." The outcome of the effort was that Mr. Gilbert abandoned the Charles Street Church, and, with a few kindred spirits, inaugurated the Tremont Temple enterprise in 1838. In the course of time the Tremont Theatre, interesting to theatre-goers as the scene of Charlotte Cushman's debut, was purchased and refashioned into Tremont Temple. "The minister, Rev. Nathaniel Colver, D. D., was a man pronounced and fearless both in his antagonism to slavery and his antagonism to a great many other things dear to the average worldly heart." The "Temple" has burned down several times.

March 8, 1855, the year after Anthony Burns was carried from Boston Harbor by a United States Government vessel, he was welcomed back to Boston in Tremont Temple, and from its platform made his first speech as a free American citizen. Later, during the civil war, Thomas Sims, escaping through the lines of Grant's besieging army at Vicksburg, returned to Boston and was likewise given a welcoming reception in Tremont Temple.

Dec. 2, 1859, the day on which John

the upholder with a sultry atmosphere even in the coldest of weather in those days. The last time Hollis Street Church was opened to the public was for the funeral of Wendell Phillips.

SOME OF GARRISON'S HOMES.

From 1849 to 1852 William Lloyd Garrison lived at 280A Shawmut avenue, directly opposite Hanson street, and next to No. 280, the Kiltredge Provision Company's store. Mr. S. F. Kiltredge used to serve the Garrisons with provisions when they lived on Pine street. It is the northernmost tenement of a brick block, still standing, distinguished by iron balconies. The block runs south to the German Lutheran Zion's Church, corner of Waltham street. From here he moved, 1853, to 133 Concord street, still standing. It is one of a series of brick houses setting back from the street about fifteen feet. There were then no houses to the south and the Garrisons had an unbroken view over marsh and water to Roxbury. From Concord street they moved to 14 Dix Place, off from 737 Washington street, which is the home so famous as a resort of the Abolitionists from 1853 to 1864. Another home of Mr. Garrison was, 1838, at Hayward Place. In 1839-40 he lived in Cambridgeport, Mass., and then moved to corner of Williams and Magazine streets, about 1842-3. On Seaver place, leading from 253 Tremont street, was another of Mr. Garrison's homes in Boston.

His home at the time of the "broadcloth mob," 1835, was 23 Brighton street, off Leverett street, but no trace seems now to be left. The first months of his married life were spent in a house now only represented by an old cellar opposite Laurel street on Humboldt avenue, off from Walnut avenue, which in turn leads off from Warren street. The Garrison homestead, where the last

few years of his life were spent, when the battle had been fought and the victory won, is at 125 Highland street, Roxbury, and occupied by his son, Francis Jackson Garrison. Although a private house, it is a veritable museum of anti-slavery relics, such as cannot elsewhere be found, and it is a matter of national importance that it be preserved as such.

The grave of William Lloyd Garrison is on Smilax path, Forest Hills Cemetery, near the Soldiers' Monument, and French's great bronze for Millmore. In Forest Hills is also buried the sculptor, Martin Millmore, who made the great sphinx at Mount Auburn Cemetery, commemorating the downfall of American slavery. Rev. James Freeman Clark here also rests from many good works in behalf of freedom, both of body and mind. The Garrison monument is on Commonwealth avenue near the Vendome Hotel, and has on its pedestal famous words which appeared in the first number of the Liberator.

The Public Library honors the names of Garrison and Phillips on the Boylston-street side, without, and in the Mosale ceiling at the right of the main entrance within. The State likewise perpetuates their names on the walls of the House of Representatives in the new State House.

The Soldiers' and Sailors' monument on the Common and the "Attucks" or "Boston Massacre" monument, and the "Parade Ground" have a connection with our subject. In the Public Garden, on the Boylston-street side, is the statue of Charles Sumner, while opposed to him is that of Edward Everett, once a pupil of Daniel Webster, and, like his great master, most sadly on the wrong side of the question of the rights of man at periods of his career.

On the lower, east corner of Essex and Chauncy streets stood (and still stands) though remodelled for business purposes) the church of Rev. Nehemiah Adams, who wrote a book against abolition entitled "A South-side View of Slavery," from which he was nicknamed "South-side Adams." Only two doors away, however, lived Wendell Phillips, so that, as the world now knows, "the country was safe."

At 20 Hancock street is the home of Charles Sumner, and here John Brown vis-

Bowdoin Street Choir, in this same old, stone church on Bowdoin street.

At 12 Kingston street, Charles F. Hovey, founder of C. F. Hovey & Co., and a generous financial helper of the abolitionists, lived.

At 20 Chauncy street lived Mary G. Chapman, on the east side, before you reach Avon place going from Summer street.

At what was then 1 Exeter place, now occupied by the store of Thomas Kelly & Co., blanket manufacturers, corner of Chauncy street, No. 89, was the home of Theodore Parker. Many a night, after returning at midnight from a lecture, Wendell Phillips has looked across to the window of Theodore Parker, and "seen the light still unquenched in the tireless reformer's window." From 1847 to 1848 Mr. Parker lived at 1 Pickering place. From 1848-49 to 1859 he lived at 1 Exeter place. From 1860 to 1874 Mrs. Parker continued to occupy 1 Exeter place.

On Avery street Elizur Wright lived. He edited the Chronotype, in association with Samuel G. Howe and Frank W. Bird, during the fugitive slave law days, which publication helped the anti-slavery cause materially by its unusually keen wit.

The Winthrop House on Bowdoin street was a favorite winter home of the poet Whittier. Here also Gail Hamilton and Celia Thaxter used to stay.

The Athenæum Library, 10½ Beacon street, after giving a complimentary ticket to Lydia Maria Childs, took it away from her because she used her library privileges to write a powerful protest against slavery. Mrs. Childs lived at one time on Cottage place, the one in Ward 9, a little south of Dover street, and leading from 1238 Washington street.

The Revere House, in Bowdoin square, was the abiding place of Colonel Charles F. Suttle, the master of Burns, during the kidnapping affair, in 1854.

The hotel people made themselves so agreeable to him that Suttle wrote to the Alexandria Gazette recommending Southern people going to Boston to put up there. In 1851, as a result of his fatal "Seventh of March" speech in 1850, in favor of the fugitive slave act, Daniel Webster, for a wonder, was refused Faneuil Hall. He accordingly addressed the citizens in front of the Revere House, standing right by the corner now

he was nicknamed "South-side Adams." Only two doors away, however, lived Wendell Phillips, so that, as the world now knows, "the country was safe."

At 20 Hancock street is the home of Charles Sumner, and here John Brown visited him after he was attacked in Washington. He stopped at times at the Coolidge House. He was born on the site of the Bowdoin School House, facing Myrtle street, where a tablet commemorates the fact. His body lay in state in the State House on Beacon Hill. His funeral took place from King's Chapel, on northeast corner of School and Tremont streets. His pew in King's Chapel is still to be seen.

"BATTLE CRY OF FREEDOM."

The Bowdoin Street Church, St. John the Evangelist's, now High Church Episcopalian, on the west side of Bowdoin street, below Derne street, is memorable for its connection with George F. Root, the sweet singer of freedom. His story has been delightfully told by Lydia Avery Coonley in a finely illustrated article in the New England Magazine.

George F. Root wrote the words and music of the first song of the civil war, "The first gun is fired; may God protect the right!"

"President Lincoln's second call for troops inspired 'The Battle Cry of Freedom.'"

Then song after song came not from the fire of his heart. 'Just Before the Battle, Mother,' 'The Vacant Chair' and 'Tramp! Tramp! Tramp!' found instant path to the heart of the people." "At one time his publishers had fourteen printing presses at work on 'The Battle Cry of Freedom,' and could not supply the demand." He began his career of song in Lowell Mason's famous

Southern people going to Boston to put up there. In 1851, as a result of his fatal "Seventh of March" speech in 1850, in favor of the fugitive slave act, Daniel Webster, for a wonder, was refused Faneuil Hall. He accordingly addressed the citizens in front of the Revere House, standing right by the corner now occupied by the apothecary. The "times," to which he had bowed, in preference to principle, were changing, but the grand old orator saw it too late. His statue stands on the right of the lawn, Beacon street, in front of the State House, and that of Horace Mann, the great educator, who, as Webster's colleague, opposed his senior's concessions to slavery in Washington, stands on the left, across the path.

The story of the Shaw monument in the Common, corner of Beacon and Park streets, is even now being told in newspaper and magazine, as well as engraved in enduring stone. It commemorates the time when the African was first recognized in these so-called "free" States as a man, whose right it was to fight not only for his adopted country, but for himself as well, and on an equal footing with his white brethren.

"La Touraine," the new hotel, southeast corner of Boylston and Tremont streets, covers the site of the home of the sixth President of the United States, John Quincy Adams, who watched with his mother, Abigail Adams, the battle of Bunker Hill from the hills of Quincy and who fought out in Congress the legal side of the "Right of Petition," thus rendering a service to the anti-slavery cause which was of incalculable value.

EMERSON'S BIRTHPLACE.

On the southwest corner of Summer and Chauncy streets, about where the Continental Bank Building, 53 Summer street, now

stands, was born Ralph Waldo Emerson, the philosopher. The garden of his father's house extended to Avon place, along the west side of Chauncy place, now called Chauncy street. When the emancipation proclamation hung in the balance, Emerson went to Washington and gave a noble address before the legislators in favor of emancipation. The next day he was taken to President Lincoln. What followed was the emancipation proclamation.

Ann Terry Greene, before her marriage to Wendell Phillips, lived with her uncle and aunt, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Chapman, the staunch Abolitionists, at 20 Chauncy street.

The Melodeon, where now stands Mr. Keith's Bijou Theatre, 543 Washington street, was where Wendell Phillips delivered his stinging arraignment of pro-slavery Boston, "The Sims Anniversary;" also "The Philosophy of the Anti-Slavery Movement," and that magnificently sorrowful address on the "Life of Daniel Webster." It was the first meeting-house of Theodore Parker's society after he began to preach in Boston. Anti-slavery meetings were frequently held there.

Marlboro Chapel and the old Marlboro Hotel stood where the Standard Clothing House now is, 235 Washington street. Many Bostonians will remember the "Old Archway," lined with bookstalls at this point, with a long passage leading to the old Lowell Institute. The hotel was a temperance house and a favorite haunt of the Abolitionists. J. G. Whittier often staying there. The owner, Willard Sears, was an Abolitionist. In 1837, not a place in Boston was open to the anti-slavery men and Mr. Sears offered his stable, which stood about where the old Lowell Institute later stood. So many crowded into it that fears were expressed for its safety. William Lloyd Garrison assured them, however, that they, like the Abolition movement itself, were "on a stable foundation."

On the evening of Nov. 17, 1842, determined Abolitionists gathered in Marlboro Chapel. The sweet singers of Lynn, John W. and Jesse Hutchinson, were there and sang soul-stirring songs for freedom. The business of the meeting was to organize an immediate attack on Leverett-street jail, where George W. Latimer, the first fugitive slave hunted on Massachusetts soil, had been confined for several weeks. E. Austin, counsel for the slave-hunters, heard of it, and, before the righteous mob could start, accepted \$400 in behalf of the master for the slave's release.

The old West Church, corner of Cam-

the West Indies." His Mount Vernon street home was occupied in later years by the respected William H. Baldwin, president of the Boston Young Men's Christian Union.

LEWIS HAYDEN'S HOME WAS A REFUGE.

Phillips street is an interesting locality for the anti-slavery pilgrim. Of special note is No. 66, the house of Lewis Hayden, who was the second man behind Mr. Thomas Wentworth Higginson in the attack on the Old Court House in 1854 for the purpose of rescuing Anthony Burns. Theodore Parker could have been found at times in Lewis Hayden's house, and such men as Wendell Phillips and Dr. Bowditch. Here William Craft, the fugitive, hid from the slave-catchers. In one room is a desk which is said to have been used by John Brown just before he started on that memorable journey which ended in Harper's Ferry. On the wall is a rare collection of portraits of John Brown, Wendell Phillips, Francis Jackson and other anti-slavery heroes.

To the Twelfth Colored Baptist Church on Phillips street, Governor Andrew, the good "war governor," used to come during the great conflict and preach to appreciative dusky hearers. Its best-known pastor was "Father Grimes," a colored preacher, who was the "spiritual" adviser of the fugitive Thomas Sims, when he was imprisoned in the Old Court House, in 1851. He also gave Sims the "ph'scal" advice to jump out of the third-story window when he saw Mr. T. W. Higginson and others approach the sidewalk underneath with a thick mattress and a carriage for his escape, as had been arranged by some daring Abolitionists. The plan was thwarted by the discreet authorities that very night placing strong iron bars across the window. Father Grimes was also connected with the "Burns Riot."

The "Emancipation Group" in Park square has a most interesting history. The original of the kneeling slave was Archer Alexander, the last fugitive slave captured in Missouri under the old civil laws of slavery. Soon after the assassination of Lincoln, Charlotte Scott, an emancipated slave, took to her former master, William P. Rucker, a Union refugee from Virginia, then living at Marietta, O., the sum of \$5. It was her first earning as a free woman, and she begged that it might be used to start a fund "to make a monument to Massa Lincoln, de best friend de colored people ever had."

Contributions from colored soldiers and others increased this amount to a total of \$16,242, at which the project hung fire for

accepted \$400 in behalf of the master for the slave's release.

The old West Church, corner of Cambridge and Lynde streets, now turned into the "West End Branch" of the Boston Public Library, is where Rev. Charles Lowell, father of James Russell Lowell, the poet, preached for half a century. On what was contemptuously called "Nigger Hill," rising opposite the church, he did mission work among the colored people, and defied the fugitive slave law. "He wrote a letter of remonstrance to Daniel Webster after his fateful 'Seventh of March' speech." James Russell Lowell was his youngest son, and, as a young law student, set up his "shingle" at 10 Court street, in 1840-41, and waited a month for his first client.

Number 83 Mount Vernon street was the last Boston home of William Ellery Channing. He was born at Newport, R. I., in April, 1789. His maternal grandfather was William Ellery, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. After graduating from Harvard, he went south as a tutor in a Richmond, Va., family, and was thus enabled to see both sides of the slavery question. Later, as pastor of the Federal Street Church, he became a prominent, though conservative, supporter of the anti-slavery movement. "His last public act was an address delivered in Lenox, Mass., Aug. 1, 1842, in commemoration of emancipation in

Contributions from colored soldiers and others increased this amount to a total of \$16,242, at which the project hung fire for four years. In 1869 Rev. William G. Elliot, the father of Rev. Christopher R. Elliot, who is now the pastor of the Bulfinch Place Unitarian Church in Boston, visited the studio of the sculptor, Thomas Ball, at Florence, Italy, and saw a group in marble which Mr. Ball had made under an inspiration which came to him immediately after the death of Lincoln. Dr. Elliot told the artist what the colored people in America had tried to do, but had failed to accomplish for want of sufficient funds. Mr. Ball enthusiastically offered the group at the cost of its reproduction in bronze.

Instead of the artist's original negro figure, the present figure was made from photographs of Archer Alexander, and the likeness of face and form is said to be as good as that of Lincoln.

This new group stands today in Washington. The one in Boston is a duplicate of it, given to the city of Boston by Moses Kimball. It was dedicated Dec. 11, 1879, having been cast in the Munich royal foundry, and Whittier's "Emancipation Group" is a dedication of this Boston statue of Lincoln and the slave. When the war came on, Archer Alexander was the slave of a Southerner named Hollman, living near St. Louis. Hollman, with other Southerners, half-sawed the timbers of a bridge over

which Union troops, going from the breaking up of Camp Jefferson, St. Louis, were to pass, on their way to Jefferson City. Archer knew of the plot, and walked five miles to a Union farmer to give secret warning. The soldiers were saved, but Archer was suspected and called to appear before a committee. He ran away to St. Louis and found work at the house of Rev. Dr. William G. Elliot, a member of the Western Sanitary Commission, who obtained from the provost marshal a permit allowing the slave to work for him until legal right should be established by his master, who under the law must be a loyal citizen. In spite of this permit, kidnappers took Archer by force some time later. In Dr. Elliot's absence, beat him fearfully and put him into jail, preparatory to taking him to his master. He was rescued by the orders of the provost marshal, and given absolute freedom by him. Archer's eldest son joined the Union army, and died in the field. Thus Archer Alexander had helped to break his own chains, as he is appropriately represented as doing in the bronze.

WHERE "JOHN BROWN'S BODY" WAS FIRST SUNG.

Let us close our pilgrimage by a trip to the top of the Equitable Building, corner of Devonshire and Milk streets, whose owners deserve the hearty thanks of the public for generously keeping it open. It is said to stand on the site of the home of Robert Treat Paine, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and ancestor of Boston's honored philanthropist who bears the same name today. Looking across the harbor in the direction of Fort Warren, we are reminded that in that stronghold the words of the John Brown song were first composed and sung. Mr. George Kimball, who was a member of the Second Battalion of Massachusetts Infantry, known as "The Tigers," tells its history in the New England Magazine, which gives specimens of the first and second printed copies of the song. A favorite song with the boys at the fort was an old Methodist hymn, "Say, Brothers, Will You Meet Us?" the air of which is said to be based on a still older Southern secular song. On the tune of this was gradually built up "The John Brown

Daniel Webster), as they were marching to the Common, sang it with tremendous effect for the first time that it was sung upon any street by an organized body of soldiers. Poor John Brown, the Scotchman, found a watery grave in the Shenandoah River at Front Royal, Virginia, on the 6th of June, 1862.

IMPRISONMENT OF MASON AND SLIDELL.

At Fort Warren, Messrs. Mason and Slidell, Confederate commissioners to England and France, were confined after their capture by the Jacinto. The Confederate General S. B. Buckner, the candidate in 1896 for the vice presidency on the Gold Democrats' ticket against Bryan, was also held there, after his capture in the civil war. We now look over to Bunker Hill, bearing in mind that a negro named Salem shot Major Pitcairn at the battle of Bunker Hill, and was presented, with special mention therefor, to General Washington.

We turn towards Old Christ Church, the church of Paul Revere's lanterns, and think of the negro loft, coming down from the old Colonial days, which still stands in sharp opposition to the scripture idea that God is no respecter of persons.

On Copp's Hill, near by the famous Christ Church, is the monument to Prince Hall, the father of the African Masonic order in this country, founded in 1784.

Far over where Medford lies, with its Royall mansion and its slave pen, built in 1737, and standing today, was the home of George L. Stearns, who gave money which helped John Brown prepare for his battle at Harper's Ferry. Without his activity and purse, Colonel Shaw's colored regiment would probably have been a failure, for he advanced in an hour of need \$10,000 at his own risk.

Yonder rises Harvard's memorial tower, perpetuating the memory of her sons who fought and died in the civil war, and we are again recalled to the days of Anthony Burns, when Commissioner Loring as a Harvard lecturer was hissed by his own law students at Dane Hall for his part in the kidnapping of Burns.

We are now drawing to a close. April 3, 1865, brought the downfall of Richmond.

Southern secular song. On the tune of this was gradually built up "The John Brown Song." They had a jovial Scotchman in the battalion named John Brown, and as he happened to bear the identical name of the hero of Harper's Ferry, he at once became the butt of his comrades, who would greet him with: "Come, old fellow, you ought to be at it if you are going to help free the slaves," or "This can't be John Brown; why, John Brown is dead!" and then some would add, in a solemn, drawling tone, as if it were his purpose to give particular emphasis to the fact that John Brown was really, actually dead. "Yes, yes, poor John Brown is dead; his body lies mouldering in the grave." All sorts of doggerel rhymes were thus composed, until someone produced

"He's gone to be a soldier in the army of the Lord,

His soul is marching on."

This was recognized as having a germ of inspiration in it. A number of men tinkered the rhymes, among whom was Mr. Greenleaf, a musician, the organist of a church in Charlestown, Mass. Mr. C. S. Hall of Charlestown, an acquaintance of Greenleaf, and a frequent visitor at the fort, also became interested in the production, and as a result was brought out as a penny ballad in the latter part of May, 1861, the first printed copy of "The John Brown Song," and published at 256 Main street, Charlestown, Mass., by C. S. Hall. It was first played by a visiting military band in the fort. On the 18th of July, 1861, on State street, the soldiers of the "Webster Regiment" (which, it is interesting to note, was commanded by Fletcher Webster, son of

We are now drawing to a close. April 3, 1865, brought the downfall of Richmond.

As we look over to Chelsea, we cannot help recalling that marvellous scene, April 4, 1865, when an auction block, on which slaves had been sold, was put up in Chelsea, Mass., covered with a Confederate flag captured by William Lloyd Garrison's own son's regiment in the South. Just as William Lloyd Garrison, the invited speaker, was mounting the steps thus carpeted, a telegram was put into his hands from the secretary of war, inviting him to be present, as a guest of the Government, at the ceremony of raising the stars and stripes on Fort Sumter, April 14, 1865, the fourth anniversary of the surrender of the fort and of the inauguration of the war. Imagine the scene, if we can. He whom Boston had mocked and mobbed was now triumphant and being "heard," willingly, by his fellow citizens; and George Thompson, against whom the riot of Oct. 21, 1835, was immediately directed, was also invited to become his companion in Freedom's jubilee in the harbor of Charleston, S. C. The editor who wrote the scandalous handbill which called out the mob of 1835 had descended from his mastership, and as an ordinary journeyman printer had set type, in Dickinson's Type Foundry, on the very spot where Mr. Garrison's desk stood on the afternoon so nearly fatal to the champion of freedom. One of the apprentices whom he ordered to distribute that handbill had himself become a "master," and the first printer of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in book form—Mr. George C. Rand, of the firm of Rand & Avery.

JOHN K. HASTINGS,